UNION ACADÉMIQUE INTERNATIONALE
MONUMENTA MUSICAE BYZANTINAE
A CARSTEN HØEG CONDITA

VII.

SPECIMINA NOTATIONUM ANTIQUIORUM

EDENDA CURAVIT

OLIVER STRUNK

HAUNIAE
EJNAR MUNKSGAARD
1965

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EDIDERUNT

OLIVER STRUNK · H. J. W. TILLYARD · EGON WELLESZ

GÜNTHER ZUNTZ

UNA CUM ARCHIMANDRITA CRYPTENSI

AB EPISTULIS: JØRGEN RAASTED

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Folia selecta

ex variis codicibus saec. x, xi, & xii

phototypice depicta

Pars Suppletoria

HAUNIAE

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To

Ernest W. Saunders and the Abbé Marcel Richard,

without whose patient and self-sacrificing co-operation this publication could never have been undertaken.

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FOREWORD

This publication represents the fulfillment of a promise made some years ago to the late Carsten Høeg and it is to Carsten Høeg that it owes its title. *Specimina Notationum Antiquiorum* sums up with admirable precision the character of the publication Høeg envisaged. Over the years, however, the title has become rather less apt, for by the time I began work I had persuaded myself that, to be really useful, the publication would need to be something more than a collection of specimens, however comprehensive or select. In its final form it is a collection of materials—materials for the study of the earlier Byzantine notations—and I look forward to using these materials later on as the basis for a handbook comparable to those already prepared for the Monumenta by Tillyard (*Handbook of the Middle Byzantine Musical Notation*) and by Høeg himself (*La notation ekphonétique*). With this in mind, and recognizing also that adequate treatment of the technical and methodological problems posed by the earlier notations would demand far more space than could reasonably be devoted to it here, I have restricted myself in the introduction that follows to such broad preliminary questions as classification and chronology and to that peculiarly Byzantine phenomenon—the presence of several notational varieties in a single MS copied by a single scribe.

In 1892 and 1893, having inaugurated the series *Paléographie musicale* with an edition of the MS St. Gallen 339, the Benedictines of Solesmes, wishing to demonstrate the unity and persistence of the written tradition in the West, devoted two volumes to retracing its history, entitling them "Le répons-graduel Justus ut palma reproduit en facsimile d'après plus de deux cents antiphonaires manuscrits d'origines diverses du IX^{e} au XVII^{e} siècle." Even though I was working with a different aim and within a narrower time-span, this extraordinarily useful publication was my first model, but in adapting its plan to a new set of conditions I con-

cluded, after some experimentation, that to obtain maximum coverage and maximum effectiveness I would need to build my own publication around more than one sequence of melodies. Taking as my principal center the Good Friday Triodion, perhaps the most widely copied composition in the entire repertory, I have reproduced its melodies from 21 MSS representing various types of office-book and illustrating almost every conceivable variety of the earlier notations; then, building on the reproductions already published by Father J. D. Petrescu in *Les idiomèles et le canon de l'office de Noël*, I have reproduced the Christmas office from seven additional MSS; finally, in the interests of variety and in order to include certain important MSS which would otherwise have had to be omitted, I have reproduced the Stichera Eothina from four MSS and the Presentation office from three. My primary aim has been to lend to the collection as a whole a kind of continuity and to offer, wherever possible, at least two versions of each of the melodies reproduced.

In a few instances, however, I have chosen to abandon this general rule. The "apocrypha" of the Carbone Menaia are some of them unique, yet their notational interest forbade their omission. I have recognized an obligation to reproduce, from Grottaferrata Γ. β. xxxv, the Good Friday kontakion and oikos and the office of Gonyklisia, in so far as this last followed the non-monastic rite —these too are unique, antedating our earliest sources in Middle Byzantine notation by a century in the one case, by two centuries in the other. Likewise unique are the few folios at the end of Grottaferrata E. α. xi with melodies in the style later called "kalophonic"—these melismatic elaborations of essentially syllabic originals place the beginnings of this Ars Nova at least 150 years earlier than the date generally accepted.

For a variety of reasons I have not sought to make the collection all-inclusive. Three MSS of capital importance I could safely omit—Leningrad 557 was published in complete facsimile as long ago as 1913 in Thibaut's *Monuments*; Saba 83 and Vatopedi 1488 will soon be available in the same form within the Monumenta's principal series. Some MSS, like Leningrad 789, were not accessible; others, like Saba 610, are no longer in serviceable condition. In general, too, it has seemed that when several MSS still extant were the work of a single scribe, I might limit myself to one of them.

Thus from among the five volumes of Menaia copied at Grottaferrata by Nilus the Younger I have included reproductions from the November volume only, and I have rejected Sinai 569 as a part of Sinai 581, and Sinai 1243 as a part of Sinai 1217. But this principle too has been disregarded from time to time—the four volumes of the Carbone Menaia are all in the same hand, and single scribes are responsible also for Lavra Γ. 72 and 74, for Regina gr. 58 and 59, and for Grottaferrata Δ. α. xxxii and Messina 51.

On the 187 plates of the present collection are reproduced 209 pages from 45 MSS, representing 13 libraries of Europe and the Middle East, one of them—the library of the Andreaskiti on Mount Athos—a library no longer extant. For convenience of reference, but also because the plates could not practicably be arranged chronologically or by notational varieties, the order is alphabetical by libraries and, under the single libraries, numerical by the numbers of the MSS. All plates are reproduced in actual size, or as near to actual size as could be managed, and wherever possible they have been made from fresh negatives especially prepared for direct reproduction by the collotype process.

An operation so far-flung has of necessity to involve the collaboration of a great many individuals, and in thanking those upon whose good will and friendly interest I have been dependent, I shall hope to omit no one to whom acknowledgment is due. For permissions to photograph and to publish, often too for helpful counsel, I am indebted, at Grottaferrata, to the Most Reverend Father Archimandrite, Teodoro Minisci, and to the Reverend Father Prior and Librarian, Marco Petta; at Messina, to Dr. Gaetano Iudica, Librarian of the Biblioteca Universitaria; at the Bibliothèque nationale, to M. Jean Porcher, Curator of the Département des manuscrits, now retired; at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, to the former Prefect, now His Eminence Gioacchino Anselmo M. Cardinal Albareda; and at Tübingen, to Dr. Hans Hornung, Director of the Tübingen Depot of the former Preussische Staatsbibliothek. Arrangements for photographs from the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna were made for me by Mr. Robert Freeman, one of my students. At Grottaferrata the actual photographic work was carried out for me by the firm of Vasari & Figlio, at Messina by the firm of Angelo Randazzo.

As had been foreseen, fresh negatives could not be used throughout. For a little more than half the plates I found myself obliged to resort to existing microfilms, the bulk of them from the collections of the Library of Congress. Those from the monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai and from the library of the Greek Patriarchate in Jerusalem came to Washington as a result of expeditions carried out in 1949 and 1950 under the general direction of Professor Kenneth W. Clark of Duke University. Here I have first to acknowledge the enlightened generosity of the distinguished churchmen who originally sanctioned the making of these photographs—His Beatitude Porphyrios III, Archbishop of Sinai, and the late Patriarch of Jerusalem, His Beatitude Timotheos I. My best thanks are due also to Mr. Donald C. Holmes, Chief of the Photoduplication Service at the Library of Congress, for his unfailing patience and resourcefulness in the face of any number of unusual and exacting requests.

For my reproductions from MSS in libraries on Mount Athos and the island of Patmos, and from the National Museum at Ohrid, I have used microfilms made expressly for me by the two scholars to whom I have dedicated the collection as a whole. Professor Ernest W. Saunders of the Garrett Biblical Institute at Northwestern University I found waiting for me at the Lavra when I first visited that monastery in mid-April 1953. Professor Saunders had come to Mount Athos on behalf of the Library of Congress and the International Greek New Testament Project, bringing with him first-class photographic equipment and a technical assistant. I shall not easily forget the generosity with which, setting his own work aside, he devoted precious time and material to meeting my requests, among them those for microfilms of Lavra B. 32 and Γ. 12, 67, 72, and 74. Later in the same month I encountered for the first time at Vatopedi the Abbé Marcel Richard of the Centre national de la recherche scientifique—"décidément le plus efficace des codicologues," as the late M. Dain once called him. He too has been kindness itself, indefatigable in his efforts on my behalf. Without his help I should not have been able to include reproductions from Lavra Δ. 28, Esphigmenou 54, Patmos 55 and 218, and the Ohrid Sticherarion, all of them MSS of the first importance, several of them MSS from which no photographs have hitherto been published. Here I have again to acknowledge the generosity of the various authorities who sanctioned the making

of these photographs or who helped Professor Saunders, the Abbé Richard, or myself with suggestions and advice—the Reverend Father Panteleimon, Librarian at the Lavra, the Most Reverend Father Meletios, Hegoumenos at Esphigmenou, the Reverend Father Prokopios, Librarian at the monastery of St. John the Divine on Patmos, and the officials of the National Museum at Ohrid. It is a source of great satisfaction to me that the original negatives of all these microfilms are available without restriction to interested scholars, some of them at the Library of Congress, the rest at the Centre national.

My profound indebtedness to the late Carsten Høeg I should prefer to recognize at a more appropriate time and in a more appropriate place. Here, however, I may at least acknowledge that the negatives used for the reproductions from Lavra Γ. 9 and Δ. 11 belong among those that he made himself at the time of his visit to Mount Athos in the winter of 1931. And finally, since the MS in question was no longer to be found where it belonged in 1954 and 1955 and would in any case have been lost in the fire that destroyed the rest of the library in July 1958, I am particularly indebted to my good friend and esteemed co-worker Professor H. J. W. Tillyard for the loan of two of his irreplaceable negatives from Andreaskiti gr. 18, made as long ago as 1912.

The cost of the photographic work, including the preparation of negatives from microfilm for reproduction by the collotype process, was largely met by a UNESCO grant, awarded in 1962 on the recommendation of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, whose adjunct secretary general, M. Jean d'Ormesson, has followed the progress of the undertaking with untiring interest and exemplary patience since its first inception. The publication has been further supported by generous grants from the British Academy and from the American Council of Learned Societies, thanks to which it can now be made available at a figure well below the original estimate. All photolithographic work was carried out by the Malmö Ljustryckanstalt under the direction of Mr. John Kroon, and where microfilm was involved, the negatives for the collotype process were prepared by Arne Ludvigsen, of Ludvigsen Foto, Copenhagen.

Oliver Strunk.

Grottaferrata, September 25, 1965

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON CLASSIFICATION AND TERMINOLOGY

From about 1175 (1) until the time of Chrysanthos, whose first publication appeared in 1821, the notation used in the transmission of Byzantine chant underwent no radical change. With the general acceptance of the diastematic principle at the very beginning of this long time-span, Byzantine musicians had taken a crucial step, a step no less crucial than the analogous one taken in the West at a somewhat earlier date, and once this crucial step had been taken, there could be no turning back. In the light of this historic moment, the notational innovations of Joannes Koukouzeles, his fellow *maistores*, and their followers stand revealed as mere extensions of an established system, called forth by the increasingly exacting demands of a rapidly evolving musical style.

The radical change that took place about the year 1175 was explicitly defined in the terminology proposed in 1913 by J. B. Thibaut when he distinguished between a *notation hagiopolite rythmique* and a *notation hagiopolite diastématique* (2). Later terminologies, such as those of Wellesz (Early and Middle Byzantine notation) (3) and Tardo (*semiografia paleobizantina* and *mediobizantina*) (4), are more conservative, reflecting only the chronological succession of the notations before and after the turning-point, but they have the

(1) The date was first established by Carsten Høeg; see his *Hirmologium Athoum*, Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, II (Copenhagen, 1938), Introduction, 17–18.

(2) *Monuments de la notation ekphonétique et hagiopolite de l'église grecque* (St. Petersburg, 1913). Hereinafter cited as Thibaut, *Monuments*.

(3) "Die Kirchenmusik im byzantinischen Reich," *Oriens christianus*, Neue Serie, VI (1916), 91–125.

(4) *L'antica melurgia bizantina* (Grottaferrata, 1938). Hereinafter cited as Tardo, *L'antica melurgia*.

decided merit of avoiding the conclusion with respect to geographic origin that is inherent in Thibaut's.

Other terminologies, put forward by Gastoué in 1907 (5), by Hugo Riemann in 1909 (6), and by Tillyard in a long series of publications extending from 1913 to 1960 (7), sought also to bring some order into the seemingly chaotic development of the notation before the turning-point. All of them agreed in recognizing that the latest stage of this development was uniform and consistent. For Gastoué this latest stage was the *notation mixte, constantinopolitaine* (8), or *droite*; for Riemann it was *die feine Strichpunktnotierung*; Tillyard's earlier name for it was "Linear System (latest phase)." In 1921, however, after characterizing all these designations as "equally unscientific", Tillyard proposed still another, calling this latest stage the "Coislin System" in honor of its best-known representative, the Hirmologion Coislin 220 at the Bibliothèque nationale, and as a compliment to French scholarship (9). This designation soon found wide acceptance, and the name "Coislin"—"a short name which begs no questions", as Tillyard said at the time — has by now become firmly established.

In introducing these various designations for the latest stage before the turning-point, Riemann and Tillyard intended theirs to apply only to the notation of the twelfth century and to its ana-

(5) *Introduction à la paléographie musicale byzantine* (Paris, 1907).

(6) *Die byzantinische Notenschrift im 10. bis 15. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1909).

(7) I list here only the most essential contributions: "Fragment of a Byzantine Musical Handbook in the Monastery of Laura on Mt. Athos," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XIX (1912/13), 95–117; "Zur Entzifferung der byzantinischen Neumen," *Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft*, XV (1913/14), 31–41; "The Problem of Byzantine Neumes," *American Journal of Archaeology*, XX (1916), 62–71; "The Problem of Byzantine Neumes," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XLI (1921), 29–49; "Early Byzantine Neumes: A New Principle of Decipherment," *Laudate*, XIV (1936), 183–187; "Byzantine Neumes: The Coislin Notation", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXXVII (1937), 345–358; "The Stages of the Early Byzantine Musical Notation", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XLV (1952), 29–42; "Byzantine Music about A.D. 1100", *Musical Quarterly*, XXXIX (1953), 223–231; *The Hymns of the Pentecostarium*, Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Transcripta, VII (Copenhagen, 1960), pp. xv–xxxii.

(8) Gastoué retained the term "constantinopolitaine" in deference to Thibaut, who had used it in his *Origine byzantine de la notation neumatique de l'église latine* (Paris, 1907).

(9) *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XLI (1921), 31.

chronistic use in later sources; Gastoué, on the other hand, applied his terms *mixte* and *droite* also to the notation of a few MSS which he believed to belong to an earlier time, taking the last years of the twelfth century as his upper limit. Today there can no longer be any doubt that the lower limit for the Coislin notation can indeed be pushed as far back as the year 1050, or thereabouts, for there is no essential difference between the notation of Coislin 220 and the principal notation used in such sources as the Menaia from the monastery of the Prophet Elijah at Carbone (Grottaferrata, Δ.α.xiii to xvii) (10) or the Triodion Vatopedi 1488 (11). It is only when we turn to the notations in use before the year 1050, or thereabouts, that classification and terminology become real problems and, naturally enough, it is precisely here that we begin to encounter a certain conflict of opinions.

Not more than a dozen MSS belong to this early time, although certain later sources, as we shall see presently, show traces of the notations used in them. It will simplify the presentation if I introduce at this point a table listing the twelve MSS in alphabetical order, summarizing in parallel columns the findings of the various scholars who have studied them, and indicating also, wherever possible, the precise classifications and terminologies that have been proposed (12). For the table, see pages 4 and 5 below.

My own views, first put forward in the *Annales musicologiques* for 1955 (13), are summarized in the column to the extreme right. If they appear to differ rather sharply from those expressed at various times by Professor Tillyard, they do not do so in fact. Based on his views—views which they aim to amplify and to develop

(10) Plates 50–59; other reproductions are published in J. D. Petrescu, *Les idiomèles et le canon de l'office de Noël* (Paris, 1932), pl. i–vi (hereinafter cited as Petrescu, *L'office de Noël*), and Tardo, *L'antica melurgia*, pl. xi–xiii, xv.

(11) Some reproductions are published as Plates ii, iii, vi, and vii with my contribution to the *Annales musicologiques*, III (1955), 1–37, and as Pl. 10 with my contribution to *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, IX/X (1956), 175–202.

(12) For reproductions from the MSS numbered 1 to 8, 11, and 12, see Plates 1–4, 5[b], 6–28, 112, and 142–152; there are reproductions from MS 9 in Peter Wagner, *Neumenkunde* (Leipzig, 1912), p. 45, and Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (Oxford, 1949), pl. iii, (2d. ed., 1961), pl. iv; for a complete facsimile of MS 10 see Thibaut, *Monuments*, pl. vi–xxiii.

(13) "The Notation of the Chartres Fragment", III, 1–37.

Table 1

			Gastoué	Riemann	Tillyard 1913	Tillyard 1921	Tillyard 1952 to 60	
1	Athos, Andreaskiti 18	Stichera of the Menaia?					Andreatic	Chartres
2	Athos, Esphigmenou 54	Hirmologion			Nearest to the oldest phase			Archaic Coislin
3	Athos, Lavra B. 32	Hirmologion	Paléobyzantine ou athonite	Notation des Athos-Kodex Laur. B. 32	Oldest phase, older and simpler than Γ. 67	Paleobyzantine	Esphigmenian	Archaic Chartres
4	Athos, Lavra Γ. 12	Triodion					Esphigmenian	Chartres
5	Athos, Lavra Γ. 67	Triodion	Paléobyzantine ou athonite	Notation des Fragments von Chartres	Not later than Esphigmenou 54, strikes out on a line of its own, must stand in a class by itself	Intermediate	Chartres	Chartres
6	Athos, Lavra Γ. 72	Triodion						Chartres
7	Athos, Lavra Γ. 74	Stichera of the Menaia						Chartres
8	Athos, Lavra Δ. 11	Euchologion			Follows Γ. 67, elaborate			
9	Jerusalem, Saba 83	Hirmologion						Archaic Coislin
10	Leningrad 557	Hirmologion					Esphigmenian	Archaic Coislin
11	Patmos 55	Hirmologion						Archaic Coislin
12	Sinai 1219	Stichera of the Menaia			Follows Γ. 67, elaborate	Intermediate	Andreatic	Chartres

—they aim also to simplify and to offer a provisional solution of the problem presented by the notation of Lavra Γ.67. With Tillyard, I have called this the "Chartres notation" after the fragment from Γ.67 formerly preserved at Chartres (14), not only because it was through the Chartres fragment that this notational variety first became widely known, but also because the name is "a short one which begs no questions", to use Tillyard's own phrase. In the interests of simplification I have then applied the same name also to the various forms of this notation used in Andreaskiti 18, in Lavra Γ.12, 72, and 74, and in Sinai 1219, not wishing to use two names where one would suffice. Finally, after re-examining all the available evidence, I have advanced three mutually dependent theses:

1) that the Coislin and Chartres notations are two distinct and largely independent notations which developed concurrently from a common beginning;

2) that the notation to which Tillyard has given the name "Esphigmenian" is actually two notations, an archaic form of the Coislin notation on the one hand, an archaic form of the Chartres notation on the other;

3) that about the year 1050, chiefly because of its association with the standardized, abridged texts of the liturgical books that were then being put into circulation, the Coislin notation gained the upper hand and brought the development of its rival abruptly to an end.

It may be useful to anticipate by defining these several designations in the simplest possible terms. "Coislin" means a notation restricting itself in the main to the five radical neumes (oxeia, bareia, apostrophos, petaste, and klasma) (15), singly and in combination, with the addition of a small number of simple auxiliaries and incidental signs and the further addition of the hooked ison and straight oligon; the two signs last mentioned do not belong to the original stock, and I have accordingly applied the designation

(14) In addition to the essay cited in Note 13 above, see my forthcoming contribution to *Studies in Eastern Chant*, I—"H. J. W. Tillyard and the Recovery of a Lost Fragment".

(15) I borrow the concept "radical neume" from Dom P. M. Ferretti, who used it for the first time in his "Etude sur la notation acquitaine", published in Volume XIII of the *Paléographie musicale* (Solesmes, 1925–1930).

"Archaic Coislin" to that early phase of the notation that does without them. "Chartres" means a notation making consistent and extensive use of the more elaborate signs named and illustrated in the neume-table which forms part of Lavra Γ.67 (16); its simpler signs are essentially the same as those of the Coislin notation with the notable exception of the ison, written as a plain horizontal stroke; once again, this sign does not belong to the original stock, and I have accordingly applied the designation "Archaic Chartres" to the notation of Lavra B.32, the one member of the Chartres family that does without it. A further characteristic of the two archaic notations is that they tend to make little if any provision for secondary syllables. In this sense, however, the designation "archaic" can have no absolute force. Leningrad 557 and Patmos 55 are more archaic in their treatment of secondary syllables than Esphigmenou 54 and Saba 83; with the Chartres notation, other criteria have led me to apply the designation only to Lavra B.32, even though the neglect of secondary syllables is to some extent characteristic of all members of the family.

If in the foregoing I have dealt at some length with my own views on the subject of classification and terminology, it was not because I wished to impose them upon the reader, and if in what follows I adhere to my own views, it will only be because I must use some scheme of reference, however provisional. Classification and terminology are after all matters of opinion and taste, and in studying the plates that constitute the heart of this publication, the reader will be able to test for himself all existing schemes and, if he chooses, to construct a new one of his own.

CHRONOLOGICAL CONSPECTUS

The earliest dated Byzantine MS with musical (as distinguished from ekphonetic) notation is the Sticherarion completed in the monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos by a certain Anthes on May 31, 1106, preserved today in the Public Library of Leningrad, where it has the number 789. At the opposite extreme is the Triodion Sinai 754, completed in the year 1177, the latest dated MS

(16) Plate 12.

in which the Coislin notation is appropriately used, and by a curious coincidence this same year also saw the completion of our earliest dated example of the Middle Byzantine notation, the Sticherarion Sinai 1218. Between these two extremes fall a number of other dated MSS, so that for the period 1106 to 1177 one is on very solid ground indeed. Most of these landmarks are represented among the plates to follow, and there are single folios from them all in Kirsopp Lake's monumental publication, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year* 1200. (17). As a convenience, I insert a list of these dated MSS, with references to the plates in this collection and in Lake's.

			Specimina	Lake
1106	Leningrad 789	Sticherarion		VI, 437-439
1112	Grottaferrata, Δ.α.ii	October Menaion		X, 738-739
1113	Grottaferrata, Ε.α.xi	Triodion	69-75	X, 740, 748
1114	Grottaferrata, Δ.α.iii	November Menaion	43-49	X, 742
1127	Paris, gr. 1570	November Menaion	101-108	V, 316-317
1131	Grottaferrata, Δ.β.x	Triodion	64	X, 745-746
1147	Bibl. Vaticana, gr. 1811	Euchologion		VIII, 581-582
1167	Patmos 218	Sticherarion	113-115	I, 49-51
1177	Sinai 754	Triodion	120-122	VI, 452

Comparing these various plates and making due allowance for such extrinsic factors as the use of multiple *Vorlagen* or the special conditions imposed by this or that type of liturgical book, the reader can easily satisfy himself that the period 1106 to 1177 was one during which the Coislin notation remained relatively stable. The distinctive features of this notation at the height of its development —the differentiated initial signature, which combines the letter-numeral of the mode with signs borrowed from the notation itself, the stylization of certain composite neumes—are all of them present in Leningrad 789, and if Paris 1570, Patmos 218, and Sinai 754 appear not to follow its example with respect to the differentiated signature, their non-conformity proves on closer examination to be almost without significance. Thus Paris 1570 seems not originally to have been planned for musical notation, as witness its thoroughly exceptional lay-out and its consistent erasure of the breathings and

(17) Where Lake's dates are a year earlier than my own, it is because he has adjusted for the beginning of the Byzantine year, which fell on September 1.

text-accents where musical notation is present (18); differentiated signatures are not regularly used in copies of the full Menaion, Triodion, Pentekostarion and Oktoechos; Patmos 218, although without differentiated signatures on the particular folios that Lake and I have published, makes frequent use of them elsewhere. By the year 1106 the development of the Coislin notation had come to an end, and it is only too evident that MSS dated through their subscriptions are not going to be of much use to us in establishing a meaningful chronology.

Fortunately for us, an examination of the contents of two of our earliest sources, item by item, enables us to date them with reasonable precision, and each of the two dates thus obtained then proves to have a wider relevance. Seeing that the sources in question have implications for our chronological construction that are nothing short of crucial, I need not apologize for repeating here some part of what I said about them ten years ago.

Lavra Γ.74, with the stichera of the Menaia, has lost the months of September and October and a part of the month of November, so that its text begins today near the end of the office for St. Peter of Alexandria on November 25. "Under August 16, the MS contains two stichera commemorating the Translation of the Mandilion, a miraculous icon of the Savior, from Edessa to Constantinople. This translation, a lengthy account of which has been attributed to the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus (19), took place in the year 944. Under December 11, it contains two stichera commemorating the death of the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas, the great patron of the Lavra, who was assassinated in 969 (20). And under July 13, it contains an elaborate office for the Emperor's uncle, St. Michael Maleinos, abbot of a monastery at Cymina in Bithynia, Asia Minor, and the 'spiritual father' of St. Athanasius, the founder of organized monasticism on Mount Athos and of the Lavra itself. All of these entries are in the principal hand and in their proper positions in the MS, which is arranged in the order of the calendar. Yet under July 5, where one would expect to find

(18) I owe these penetrating observations on Paris 1570 to Jørgen Raasted, the Monumenta's Ab epistulis.

(19) *Patrologia graeca*, CXIII, 424-453.

(20) An abstract of a communication of mine on this subject is published in *Actes du X. congrès international d'études byzantines* (Istanbul, 1957), p. 294.

the office for St. Athanasius of Athos, there is only a marginal note in a later hand, directing the reader to 'the end of the book', where the same later hand has entered three stichera commemorating St. Athanasius, with music in the 'Coislin' notation. From these facts, one might easily conclude that the MS was written at the Lavra sometime between the death of the Emperor Nicephorus, in 969, and the death of St. Athanasius, which occurred not earlier than 997 and not later than 1011 (21). But on closer examination, the case does not appear to be quite so simple, for among the stichera for the commemoration of Michael, several are addressed to Athanasius, and while these make no express mention of the founder's death, the probabilities are that they were not written during his lifetime. If this is true, one can only say that the MS must have been written before the annual commemoration of the anniversary was instituted, and that a date later than about 1025 would appear to be out of the question" (22).

That Γ.74 was indeed written at the Lavra finds additional confirmation in its treatment of the office for the Dedication of a Church. Under August 8 it commemorates the dedication of the great katholikon of the Lavra, originally consecrated to the Annunciation (Τὰ ἐγκαίνια τῆς ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου); under August 9 it commemorates also the dedication of the chapel of the Forty Martyrs, the parekklesion to the left of the katholikon (Τὰ ἐγκαίνια τοῦ εὐκτηρίου τῶν ἁγίων μ̄ μαρτύρων); under December 6 the office for Saint Nicholas incorporates stichera commemorating the dedication of his chapel, the parekklesion to the right.

Accepting the date "not later than 1025" for Γ.74, we may apply it also to its companion volume, the Triodion-Pentekostarion Γ.72, for the two MSS are the work of a single scribe—the "humble Anthony" who has signed them both (23). The name "Anthony"

(21) Philipp Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster* (Leipzig, 1894), p. 25. Paul Lemerle, in a recent study, takes the *termini post* and *ante* to be 996 and 1005/6 and shows that something of a case can be made for the year 1002 as the actual date; see his "La vie ancienne de Saint Athanase l'Athonite", in *Le millénaire du Mont Athos*, I (Chevetogne, 1963), 59–100.

22) *Annales musicologiques*, III (1955), 32.

(23) The subscription found in *Γ*.72 on folio 92 has been published in part by Spyridon and Eustratiades in their *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Laura on Mount Athos* (Cambridge, 1925). That found in *Γ*.74 on folio 111 was brought to my attention by Father Panteleimon, the Lavra's learned librarian; it reads as follows: Ἀντώνιος αἰτεῖται εὔχου ὁ ψάλλων (sic).

appears also among the signatures of twenty privileged monks of the Lavra on a document dated December 984 (24), but after comparing this signature with those in our MSS I can only say that the differences appear to me to outweigh the resemblances.

Copies of the Hirmologion are notoriously difficult to date, for the book is not arranged according to the calendar and the texts and headings of the single akolouthiai rarely provide any basis for an opinion. In this respect, as in so many others, the Hirmologion Lavra B.32 is an exception, and on the ground that it contained an akolouthia by the Patriarch Photius (25), I declined in 1955 to place it earlier than the year 950. "When it is considered that Photius did not become Patriarch until 858, that he may have composed his canon at any time between that year and the year 886, when he was deprived of his office and banished by his pupil, the Emperor Leo, that some time must be allowed for the composition to find its way into the anthologies, and that in B.32, as in most early copies of the Hirmologion, the order of the canons within each mode is roughly chronological (26), with the canon by Photius occupying the thirtieth place in a series that runs to 53, the likelihood of a date before 950 appears very slim indeed" (27).

Looking more closely at the contents of our MS, one will discover that it can be made to tell us a good deal more. For one thing, it contains an akolouthia by Theophanes Protothronos, the ranking bishop mentioned by Leo Grammaticus, Theophanes Continuatus, and other Byzantine chroniclers as having presided at the consecration of the Patriarch Stephen (28), who succeeded Photius in 886; this akolouthia, like the one by Photius, is otherwise unknown (29). For another thing, it contains, in the guise of hirmoi

(24) Published in facsimile by Franz Dölger in *Aus den Schatzkammern des heiligen Berges* (Munich, 1948), Tafelband, pl. 108.

(25) The texts of the hirmoi are published by Eustratiades in his edition of the Hirmologion (Chennevières-sur-Marne, 1932), p. 183. Hereinafter cited as Eustratiades, *Hirmologion.*

(26) To put it more precisely, each mode consists of an "old layer", which is followed by a series of additions whose arrangement evidently represents the order in which the added canons came to the compiler's attention.

(27) *Annales musicologiques*, III (1955), 33.

(28) *Patrologia graeca*, CVIII, 475; CIX, 354, 700, 849; CX, 767; see also Theodore Balsamon, In canonem XII Concilii Chalcedonensis,ibid.,CXXXVII, 128.

(29) Eustratiades, *Hirmologion*, p. 194.

for the ninth odes of various akolouthiai, three Stavrotheotokia from the cycle repeatedly attributed in other sources to the Emperor Leo, who shared the imperial titles from 886 to 912 (30); none of these has found its way into later hirmologia. What weighs still more heavily is that it interpolates four heterogenous hirmoi in well-established akolouthiai, written for great feasts by Cosmas of Jerusalem; three of these, hirmoi for second odes, are attributed by the scribe himself to Theophanes Protothronos; the fourth, an alternate hirmos for a ninth ode, is similarly attributed to the Emperor, and its language has an unmistakably imperial ring (31).

As a final argument in support of the date "not earlier than 950", one may add that the notational differences between B.32 on the one hand and Γ.72 and 74 on the other appear to rule out the possibility of a greater time-interval. And in view of its unique and specific attributions to the Emperor Leo and members of his circle, B.32 can only have been written in Constantinople or within the Constantinopolitan orbit.

Accepting the date "not earlier than 950" for B.32, we may go on to consider its possible bearing on the dates of Patmos 55, Esphigmenou 54, and Saba 83. Each of these hirmologia contains, without attribution, one or more of the interpolated hirmoi attributed in B.32 to Theophanes and Leo. Leningrad 557 is not concordant, nor could one have expected it to be, for this little fragment of 16 folios contains none of the akolouthiai affected.

Hirmos	Author	Lavra B. 32	Patmos 55	Esphigmenou 54	Saba 83
Παλιν ιησους	Theophanes	41			34
Ο κλινας ουρανους	Theophanes	100 verso			....
Ωσπερ ομβρος	Theophanes	199	166	61 verso	....
Μεδοντι θεοστεπτω	Leo	272		120 verso	....

Of these several concordances, the recurrence of Ὥσπερ ὄμβρος

(30) Eustratiades, *Hirmologion*, Akolouthiai 90, 260, and 353.

(31) For the texts of these interpolated hirmoi, see Eustratiades, *Hirmologion*, Akolouthiai 49 (Eustratiades has failed to report the attribution to Theophanes), 103 (B.32 assigns the hirmos to Akolouthia 101), 229 (the bracketed attributions are supplied by Eustratiades; of the added hirmoi, B.32 has only the one for the second ode), 322.

in Patmos 55 is the genuinely significant one, even though the entry itself, headed Τῇ μεγάλῃ ε̄· περισσῇ, is separated from the akolouthia to which it is to be added, and even though the hand responsible is not the main hand, but a slightly later one. Both hands employ the Archaic Coislin notation in substantially the same form, the one noteworthy difference being that the later hand makes no use of the little cross or teleia with which the main hand closes each of its entries (32). Thus, even though we cannot fairly extend our inference to the MS as a whole, we may certainly infer that Patmos 55, in so far as its later hand is concerned, is probably not earlier than the hirmologion at the Lavra.

If our date "not earlier than 950" is to be shown to have a decisive bearing on the dates of our several sources in Archaic Coislin, we shall need more convincing evidence, and if we look more closely at the notation of B.32, we shall find it in a physical peculiarity of the Lavra Hirmologion that has until now escaped attention. This capital source, the only one to employ the Archaic Chartres notation, runs to 312 folios (or 314, if one includes the two folios taken to Leningrad by Uspensky) (33), and on 304 (or 306) of them the notation is uniform and consistent, the text in black ink, with breathings and grammatical accents, the musical signs in red. Examining the single gathering that begins with folio 51 and ends with folio 58 verso, one discovers, however, that the notation is now Archaic Coislin, and that although the musical signs continue to be written in red, the text is no longer provided with the breathings and grammatical accents that make the use of two inks mandatory. Looking then at the openings 50 verso-51 and 58 verso-59, the openings that permit direct comparison of the Coislin gathering with the Chartres gatherings that precede and follow it, certain striking if superficial differences in appearance leap to the eye (34). The make-up of the gatherings is the same,

(32) Apart from its use in Patmos 55, the sign is found only in Leningrad 557 and Lavra Γ.67. Its early disappearance in Byzantium lends support to the view that the beginnings of the Palaeoslavonic notation date from the mid-tenth century, for the sign has been a part of this notational system from the first. That the hirmos in question is without notation in Patmos 55 does not affect the argument.

(33) For facsimiles of these two folios, see Thibaut, *Monuments*, p. 73–76.

(34) These observations on the Coislin gathering in B.32 incorporate suggestions offered by Father Marco Petta, Prior and Librarian at Grottaferrata, by

with 19 lines to the page. But within the Coislin gathering the text is written with a finer pen and in rather smaller characters, while those musical signs that take or tend to take one form in the Coislin notation and another in the Chartres exhibit the distinctive Coislin form. Thus the thematismos takes the form seen on Plate 2, lines 1, 4, and 5, over the word καί and the last syllable of the word φρεσί, rather the form found at the corresponding points on Plate 4ª or in the Chartres neume-table (Plate 12, line 10, where the sign is called "ouranisma"); the parakletike takes an erect form resembling that seen on Plate 2, line 16, over the words εὐλογεῖ δοξάζουσα, rather than the recumbent form found at the corresponding point on Plate 4ᵇ or in the Chartres neume-table (Plate 12, line 15). Despite these differences, however, one is left with the distinct impression that the hand or hands are in fact the same, and while this is only an impression, there can be no denying that the Chartres and Coislin gatherings have a great deal in common: the decorative flourish, used to fill out the line at the end of such single hirmoi as leave room for it, runs through the MS from beginning to end; distinctive forms of the ornamental initial letters, particularly of the omega, are as characteristic of the Coislin gathering as they are of the rest.

The Coislin gathering in B.32 begins with the last two hirmoi of Akolouthia 19 and extends as far as the heading for Akolouthia 29 (35). It is clearly a replacement, not an interpolated addition. We can no longer know why a replacement was thought necessary, nor have we any means of determining what prompted the shift from one notation to another. In preparing the replacement, did the scribe or scribes turn to another *Vorlage*, one provided from the first with Coislin neumes? Or is it that there was a decision to translate the Chartres neumes of the original *Vorlage* into those of the simpler Coislin system? Whatever the explanation may be, the strong probability remains that the Coislin gathering, though later than the gatherings that precede and follow it, cannot be much later, and that it could even have been prepared before the MS as a whole was put into final shape. Akolouthia 21 is found also

Jørgen Raasted, and by Isaac Thomas, one of my students. For facsimiles of the two openings, see my forthcoming *Handbook of the Early Byzantine Notations*.

(35) For the texts, see Eustratiades, *Hirmologion*, Akolouthiai 75 (Ode 8 only; Ode 9 is from Akolouthia 62), 76–78, 64, 79–83, 58 (heading only).

in Patmos 55 and Saba 83, Akolouthia 23 in Esphigmenou 54. Using the hirmoi of these two akolouthiai as a basis for comparison, one can only conclude that the notation of the Coislin gathering in B.32 is more archaic than that found in any one of the three others. Once again Leningrad 557 is not concordant, for its hirmoi and those of the Coislin gathering in B.32 belong to different modes.

We are now ready for a comprehensive view. Looking back over the terrain thus far surveyed, we can easily single out its salient features in their relation to one another without troubling ourselves further with topographical detail or with sharp contours and precise measurements. Unless we wish to make a special case of the elusive Leningrad fragment, we may recognize that no extant Byzantine MS with musical notation can safely be dated earlier than 950 and that not one of our earliest sources is wholly free from traces of the hymnographic activity of the circle about the Emperor Leo. These earliest sources exemplify two distinct and concurrently developing systems of musical notation, archaic forms of Coislin and Chartres. The two systems have altogether too many elements in common to have originated independently, and since these common elements embrace the entire semeiographic material of the Coislin notation in its archaic form, we may recognize in this simpler system the general outlines of the primitive parent-notation from which both systems have sprung. By 1025 the Chartres notation reaches a relatively high point in its development. Not much later—let us say "about 1050", in order to allow for the changes that took place shortly before and after this new turning-point—the Coislin notation, having gradually lost its archaic characteristics, emerges as the immediate ancestor of the notation of the century to follow, and with this emergence the Chartres notation rapidly passes out of use. By 1106 the development of the Coislin notation has run its course, and by 1177 it is supplanted by the fully diastematic Middle Byzantine notation whose appearance has been heralded at mid-century by such incipiently diastematic sources as Regina gr. 54 (36) and Iviron 470 (37) and by changes taking place within the later Coislin tradition itself.

(36) Plates 176–179.

(37) The edition in facsimile is cited in Note 1 above.

As we have seen, the third quarter of the twelfth century was a critical time for the development of the Byzantine notation. Almost equally critical were the years just before and after the middle of the eleventh. Before this time each copy of the Sticherarion or Hirmologion had been a copy *sui generis*, adapted to local requirements; after it, and for a long time to come, we encounter only the universally useful, standardized, abridged versions of these two books, each copy a more or less faithful reproduction of its particular archetype. The sharp contrast in notation between the earlier and later eleventh century, as reflected in the relative anarchy of the one and the relative orderliness of the other, is an effect of this liturgical reform, not its cause. To understand what happened at this time we shall need to turn to those exceptional sources of the later eleventh century that are based upon multiple *Vorlagen*, and these can also be made to tell us a good deal that we should not otherwise know about the developments of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.

MANUSCRIPTS WITH MULTIPLE VORLAGEN

That a single scribe, in preparing a single MS, should draw on two or more *Vorlagen*, written in different notations or in different stages of the same notation, his procedure betraying itself only or primarily through what at first sight appear to be notational inconsistencies and incongruities—this is a phenomenon quite unknown to the musical palaeography of the Latin West. In Byzantium, on the other hand, one does encounter it now and then, and when one does, its implications are often revealing, especially when the MS involved is an early one.

As a first instance of this phenomenon, I take a particularly simple case. The Triodion Sinai 1244, a paper MS of the mid-thirteenth century to whose notational peculiarites (*duplice semiografia*) Tardo has already drawn attention (38), is based on two *Vorlagen*, one written in Middle Byzantine notation, the other in Coislin. Between these two *Vorlagen* the scribe alternates almost at random—at all events without discernible plan—and since his

(38) Tardo, *L'antica melurgia*, p. 61, pl. xxiii.

Middle Byzantine *Vorlage* collected the prosomoia of Joseph and Theodore Studites at the end of the Pentekostarion while the Coislin interpolated them one, two, or three at a time within the Triodion itself, he has sometimes succeeded in entering the same piece twice. Plate 172 permits the direct comparison of the two notations, Middle Byzantine to the left, Coislin to the right.

More instructive are the notational peculiarities found within the Oktoechos of Lavra Γ.67, our earliest source for this supremely important section of the Sticherarion. They affect only the stichera of the Sunday Vespers, and within this little cycle of 24 pieces, three in each of the eight modes, they affect only the contrafacta, of which there are in all eleven.

As a whole, this cycle constitutes something of an anomaly in Byzantine hymnography. The Coislin sources regularly include it, as do the earlier sources in the Middle Byzantine notation, but with the fourteenth century its omission becomes more and more frequent. Its use is specifically prescribed in the Typikon of Grottaferrata (39) and the 24 texts were accordingly printed, for the first and only time, in the Grottaferrata Horologion of 1677 κατὰ τὴν ἔκπαλαι τάξιν (40). On Mount Athos, quite the other way, the neglect of the cycle seems already to have begun in the eleventh century, for it is no longer included in Vatopedi 1488, our second Chartres source for the Oktoechos, and in Γ.67 the eleven contrafacta are entered in an intermediate or transitional stage of the Chartres notation, half archaic, half developed. This can be due only to the use of two *Vorlagen*, and we may perhaps suppose that, finding the contrafacta without notation in his principal model, the writer of Γ.67 turned to an older one that was provided with notation throughout. Paradoxically, then, our earliest source for the Oktoechos can be made to reveal that a still earlier one must once have existed, and for eleven of the more than 200 pieces included, it lets us see what the notation of that earlier source was like.

Three of the eleven contrafacta are reproduced on Plates 10 and 11, the normal Chartres notation of their model melody on Plate 9. The notation of the three contrafacta, particularly of the

(39) MS Γ.α.i (written in the year 1300), f. 146 verso.
(40) Pages 629–634.

first one, is relatively continuous, so that it is in this respect less archaic than that of Lavra B.32, far less generous in its provisions for secondary syllables. Certain distinctive signs from the Chartres neume-table are found at corresponding points in each of the three contrafacta, for example the Chartes seisma (Plate 12, line 9) over the words ᾅδου, ἀφώνως, and ἡμᾶς (Plate 10, lines 6 and 14; Plate 11, line 3), or the kondeuma (Plate 12, line 14) over the words ἐλθόντας, φύσιν, and θανάτῳ (Plate 10, lines 8 and 15; Plate 11, line 4). But the Chartres ison, seen in the model melody over the sixth, seventh, and eighth syllables of the phrase μεγαλειότητα ἐν σιών, is found so rarely that one is tempted to ascribe its infrequent occurrences to pure distraction, while the Chartres oligon, seen in the model melody over the second syllable of the word προφητείαν, a relatively common sign in B.32, is simply not found at all. Most significant is the heightened frequency of the simple apostrophos: in the model melody there are in all 27 occurrences of this sign; in the second of the three contrafacta there are 51, and in the first and third nearly as many. While the apostrophoi of the contrafacta usually correspond to apostrophoi of the model melody, they do not always do so: often the correspondence is to the ison or even to the oligon, with the result that the relative continuity of the notation on Plates 10 and 11 is largely deceptive. We shall see presently that the Coislin notation, in shedding its archaic characteristics, passed also through an analogous intermediate or transitional stage.

In these two instances, the resort to a second *Vorlage* is perhaps to be explained as the result of the accidental deficiencies of the first. I have already suggested that the writer of Γ.67 may have made the shift on finding that his principal model had left certain texts without musical notation. In a somewhat similar way, the Triodion Sinai 1244 may be the result of a writer's attempt to compensate for the imperfections of a mutilated model by turning to a second one that happened to be written in an earlier or later notation.

In other instances, however, the shortcomings of the principal *Vorlage*, far from being accidental deficiencies, are natural ones arising from the standardization and abridgment to which, about the year 1050, the liturgical books were subjected. All indications are that the Coislin archetype of the standard abridged Sticherarion provided no notation for the hirmoi of the Good Friday Triodion.

Thus the scribe who wished to include these melodies in the copy he was preparing, and there were many who did, found himself faced with a choice: he might supply the melodies from memory or he might turn to another *Vorlage*, perhaps a copy of the Hirmologion—there was no other way. Only on the basis of these assumptions can we hope to account for the failure of our various Coislin versions of the hirmoi to agree more closely with one another. The underlying melodies remain essentially the same, and the versions reproduced from Hirmologia using the archaic and developed forms of the notation are relatively stable. Yet among those reproduced from Coislin copies of the Sticherarion and Triodion, only six can readily be explained as due to the use of a second *Vorlage*. Messina 110 (Plates 88–90) agrees closely with the versions in Archaic Coislin (Plates 2–3 and 112) (41), even though this stage of the notation is not found elsewhere in the MS; Lavra Δ.28 (Plates 29–32) reproduces the established readings of the Coislin Hirmologion (Plates 5ᵃ, 76–77, and 109–111) (42); Sinai 1214 (Plates 123–126) and Regina 59 (Plates 183–184) derive their versions of the hirmoi from a common source, while another common source underlies the versions of Messina 142 (Plates 91–93) and Sinai 1241 (Plates 153–156). All one can say of the remaining Coislin versions (Plates 23–28, 35–37, 64, 113–115, 120–122, 173–175, and 185–187) is that they are relatively independent, supplied perhaps from memory or copied from sources as yet unidentified.

Likewise due to the use of a second *Vorlage* is the Chartres version of the Good Friday Triodion found in Vatopedi 1488, whose beginning I have reproduced as Plates vi and vii in my contribution to the *Annales musicologiques* for 1955 (43). This version, however, is perhaps the least remarkable feature of this truly extraordinary MS, an early Coislin copy of the standard abridged contents of the Triodion-Pentekostarion in which the scribe, instead of arranging

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(41) In Saba 83, the original notation can no longer be distinguished precisely from the neumes added to or written over them by the fourteenth-century convertor, who is also responsible for a number of erasures. Leningrad 557 is not concordant.

(42) Found also in the Hirmologion Patmos 54.

(43) See also pages 21–24 of that contribution for a comparison of the Chartres versions of Vatopedi 1488, Γ.67, and B.32 and a discussion of its implications.

the single offices in the order of the eight modes, has rearranged them to follow the order of the service, and has then supplemented the standard abridged contents by interpolating roughly 100 "apocrypha" copied from his Chartres *Vorlage* (44), adding an Oktoechos drawn from the same source. Since I have already dealt with this MS in some detail, and since, as indicated in my foreword, a complete edition in facsimile is soon to be published within the Principal Series of the Monumenta, I can afford to pass over it here. For the moment it will be enough to draw attention to the instructive opening reproduced in the *Annales musicologiques* as Plates ii and iii, for these permit the direct comparison of a model melody in the Coislin notation and belonging to the standard abridged contents with its three additional and "apocryphal" stanzas as copied from the Chartres *Vorlage* (45).

Not less instructive is the comparable opening reproduced as Plates 51 and 52 of the present collection—folios 174 verso and 175 of the December Menaion from the monastery of the Prophet Elijah at Carbone (Grottaferrata Δ.α.xiv). On Plate 51 one finds an automelon from the standard abridged contents, the frequently imitated Οἶκος τοῦ ἐφραθά (46), its melody written in the normal, relatively developed Coislin notation of the later eleventh century; on Plate 52 there follow five additional and "apocryphal" stanzas (47), their melodies copied from a *Vorlage* that used the Archaic Coislin notation. That these five additional stanzas are indeed contrafacta, to be sung to the melody of Οἶκος τοῦ ἐφραθά, is expressly recognized by the scribe, who introduces each one of them by abbreviating the word ὅμοιον in the left-hand margin. On

(44) "Apocryphon" (ἀπόκρυφον), usually abbreviated ἀπ', is the designation regularly used, for example in Berlin gr. fol. 49, Paris gr. 265, and Sinai 1216, to distinguish irregular additions from the standard abridged contents of the Sticherarion. For the abbreviation, see Johannes Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde*, I (Leipzig, 1913), pl. facing p. 80.

(45) See also pages 11–20 of the *Annales* for a comparative study of the model melody and its three troparia.

(46) See Giuseppe Schirò, "Lineamenti storici sulla genesi e lo sviluppo del Syntomon", *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata*, III (1949), 133–152, 195–217, especially 209–211.

(47) Middle Byzantine notation for the first four of these additional stanzas is found on folio 143 verso of Paris gr. 355, a thirteenth-century MS of South Italian origin.

comparing the two plates, one notices first of all that the notation found on Plate 52 is only relatively continuous, least so in the fifth of the added stanzas, a Theotokion, and in the third, in part a textual repetition of the model. As in the Hirmologion Saba 83, the hooked ison, if I may so call it, is used only over the last syllable of a stanza (48). The straight oligon is not used at all; the same is true of the kylisma, seen in the model melody at the ends of the first and second distinctions; the klasma is found repeatedly as an independent sign; the employment of the two kentemata is severely restricted. These archaic characteristics are all of them familiar from Plates 2, 3, and 112; likewise familiar from Plates 88 to 90 is the combination apostrophos-oxeia (Plate 52, lines 1, 2, 9, and 14).

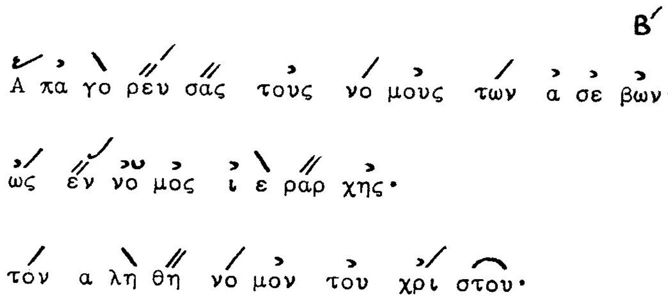
As the reader may already have suspected, we are about to encounter in the Menaia from Carbone a second and even more remarkable instance of the procedure followed by the writer of the Triodion-Pentekostarion Vatopedi 1488. Its five volumes (Grottaferrata Δ.α.xiii–xvii) contain full texts for the offices for the months from October to April (49). To these texts the scribe has added music for the stichera idiomela from a *Vorlage* giving the normal, relatively developed Coislin notation for the standard abridged contents; then, not satisfied with this, he has gone on to interpolate upwards of 40 "apocrypha" in various states of Archaic Coislin ranging from the minimal notation seen on Plate 59, lines 9 to 19, to the virtually continuous notation seen on the same plate in lines 1 to 8. Between these two extremes, the state represented by the five contrafacta on Plate 52 occupies a middle ground. Given this wide notational variety, it seems more than likely that the "apocrypha" of the Carbone Menaia have been drawn, not from one earlier *Vorlage*, but from several. Add to this that the two "apocrypha" for St. Charalampes which present the striking notational contrast seen on Plate 59 are sometimes found together and with identical notation, for example in Sinai 1219, where the

(48) See also the notation for the Good Friday Triodion in Messina 110, which breaks this rule only twice—over the second and last syllables of the word δοξάζουσα (Plate 89, lines 13–14).

(49) The volume for October and November (Δ.α.xiii) has lost a number of folios.

notation is the developed Chartres, or in Ohrid 53 (Plates 94 and 95), (50) where it is the normal, relatively developed Coislin.

In Grottaferrata Δ.α.xvi the first of these two "apocrypha" begins as follows on folio 56 verso:



[Example 1]

'Απαγορεύσας leaves only three syllables without neumes (line 3 of my example and Plate 59, lines 1 and 6); Βήματι θείῳ provides only for a little more than half. Yet the semeiographic material of the two pieces is much the same and the notation conforms in the main to the behavior of that on Plate 52, as summarized above, although it is perhaps noteworthy that Βήματι θείῳ makes no use at all of the two kentemata or of the combination apostrophos-oxeia and that it uses the supported klasma only in the form later called xeron klasma (line 18, over the second syllable of the word ὀσμήν). Likewise noteworthy is its use of the hemiphthora of the Chartres neume-table (Plate 12, line 13) (51); in lines 8 and 9, Plate 94 has the usual Coislin equivalent.

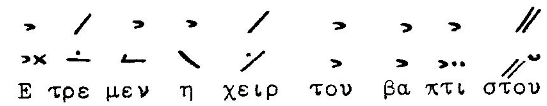
Among Tardo's plates from the Carbone Menaia (52) there are three further specimens of the Archaic Coislin notation. On Plate xi, from the Epiphany office, Ἔτρεμεν ἡ χεὶρ τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ is again an "apocryphon" and its notation belongs to the same late

(50) This splendid MS is the one Coislin copy of the complete Sticherarion that has been perfectly preserved and it shares with Lavra Δ.11 a characteristic otherwise found only in MSS with Chartres notation—the use of a special ink for the neumes, the text being provided with breathings and grammatical accents throughout.

(51) Not regularly used in Archaic Coislin, although found occasionally in the Hirmologion Esphigmenou 54.

(52) *L'antica melurgia*, pl. xi–xiii, xv.

phase that we have just encountered in 'Απαγορεύσας. In this particular case, however, it so happens that the first distinction is identical, in its text and music, with the first distinction of a "canonical" sticheron belonging to the same office. My example compares the two notations of the Menaion for this distinction, the upper line from folio 71 and Tardo's plate (53), the lower from folio 71 verso.



[Example 2]

On Tardo's plate xv one finds incomplete reproductions of two "apocrypha" from the office for St. Theodore—Πάτερ θεόδωρε and Ἐκ μητρικῶν ἀκάνθων. The first of these belongs once again to the late phase already familiar from 'Απαγορεύσας, while the second goes beyond it in introducing the kylisma over the last syllable of the word θεόδωρε in line 7 (54). This brings us very close to the latest phase of all, which we shall encounter presently on Plates 53 and 54.

Throughout this discussion of the Carbone Menaia and their various *Vorlagen* I have emphasized the importance of the distinction between the "canonical" and the "apocryphal", and as we have recognized, this distinction is simply a result of the thoroughgoing and authoritative revision of the office books that must have been promulgated about the middle of the eleventh century. To see just how this revision worked out in practice, one has only to turn to the several early versions of the Christmas office reproduced by Petrescu (55) and supplemented by those in the present collection. In its revised form, the Christmas office consists of precisely 30 pieces, to which some MSS add the contrafactum Ὁρῶσά σε ἡ

(53) In the caption for Tardo's plate xi, the folio number is incorrectly given as 71 verso.

(54) To be sure, the melody of 'Απαγορεύσας offers no opportunity for the introduction of the kylisma. But from Plates 54 and 88–90 we already know that this sign did not belong to the semeiographic material of the Archaic Coislin notation, even at a relatively late stage of its development.

(55) *L'office de Noël*, pl. i–xx.

κτίσις, modeled on a celebrated sticheron from the mid-Lenten office for the Adoration of the Cross. Its state before the standardization took effect is represented by the versions from Lavra Γ.74 and Sinai 1219 (Plates 14–22 and 142–151). If we were to adopt the point of view of the later eleventh century, we should say that neither of these versions was complete and that each contained an inordinate number of "apocrypha", in the one case eleven, in the other five. We should also be surprised to find, in both these versions, the "apocryphon" Ἡ ἀπαρχὴ τῆς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας and to learn from Lavra Γ.74 that the "idiomelon" Μάγοι περσῶν βασιλεῖς, familiar to us from the standard abridged version, was in reality a contrafactum imitating that forgotten model. For the state after the standardization took effect we can turn to Petrescu's plates from Paris gr. 242 (vii–xii), a relatively early source that closely approximates it, and from them to its exact reproduction on Petrescu's plates from Paris gr. 356 (xiii–xx) (56) and on my own from Sinai 1217 (Plates 127–140), with Ohrid 53 the best representatives of what I may call the "Coislin majority text" (57).

Strictly speaking, a Menaion is a volume without musical notation containing the proper texts appointed to be read and sung in the course of the services for a single month. Only in rare instances, and by way of exception, is such a volume provided with musical notation, and then only with musical notation for the stichera idiomela. In either case the Menaion presents problems of its own with respect to contents and arrangement. Some copies arrange their entries for a given feast in the order of the single services, beginning with the Vespers and continuing with the Orthros, others prefer a systematic arrangement, beginning perhaps with the troparia and kontakia, continuing then with the stichera, and concluding with the canons. Some copies include the lessons from the Old and New Testaments, other do not. Some copies make

(56) Petrescu's plates from the two MSS in Paris are not quite complete.

(57) Its exact reproduction is also typical of later MSS, as represented by Petrescu's plates from Paris gr. 261 (xxi–xxv) and Coislin 41 (xxviii–xxxiii) and by the Codex Dalassenos (*Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, I, folios 93–99 verso). As Wellesz observed as long ago as 1936: "Die Anordnung der Stichera ist in den zahlreichen Handschriften des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts ziemlich übereinstimmend; nur wenige Hymnen sind in einzelnen Handschriften unwesentlich umgestellt" (*Die Hymnen des Sticherariums für September*, p. xii).

provisions for the conduct of the Divine Liturgy, others confine themselves strictly to the canonical hours. Some copies spread their entries for the more solemn feasts over several days, others collect the whole under the principal date (58). For our present purposes, however, and considering only the copies from which we have reproductions of the Christmas office, the Menaia may be said to fall into two broad categories—one in which the contents of the standard abridged version is entered in its entirety or with one or two omissions, another in which one finds only a modest selection from that version. To the first category belong the Menaia Grottaferrata Δ.α.xxxii and Saba 63 (Plates 60–63 and 78–81), to the second belong the Menaia Sinai 581 and Regina gr. 54 (Plates 116–119 and 176–178) (59).

No "apocrypha" are interpolated in the Christmas offices from these four MSS, nor can there be any question of second *Vorlagen*, since each is notationally consistent in itself (60). But if we turn now to the Christmas office from the Carbone Menaia (Petrescu's plates i–vi, supplemented by Plates 53–57 of the present collection), we shall find that neither of these statements applies. Here the scribe has exactly reproduced the revised form of the office, copying it in normal, relatively developed Coislin from his principal *Vorlage* and interpolating the final troparion from the office of Nones as celebrated on Christmas Eve, copying this also from his principal *Vorlage* and adding two additional stanzas (Petrescu's plate vi, continued by Plate 53 of the present collection); he has then drawn on other *Vorlagen* in Archaic Coislin for four "apocrypha". Θεὸς ἐφάνη ἐπὶ γῆς (Petrescu's plate vi) is a contrafactum imitating the Good Friday troparion Ἑλκόμενος ἐν

(58) These generalizations apply with equal force to copies of the full Triodion (Plates 64, 120–122, 183, and 184), Pentekostarion (Plates 180–182), and Oktoechos (Plates 82–87).

(59) Grottaferrata Δ.α.iii and Paris gr. 1570 belong to this second category also; see the Presentation offices reproduced from these MSS as Plates 43–49 and 101–108.

(60) But see the office for St. Gregory Nazianzus in Regina gr. 54 (Plate 179), with Coislin notation in red for three of the stichera, although a fourth, like the remainder of the MS, uses an incipient Middle Byzantine notation in black. It is likewise noteworthy that on this particular folio the texts of the stichera are copied with fewer lines to the column than on the folios reproduced as Plates 176–178.

τῷ σταυρῷ; with Διὰ τὴν παράβασιν τὴν ἐν ἐδὲμ (Petrescu's plate ii), it represents the early state of Archaic Coislin already familiar from Βήματι θείῳ (61). Φοβερὸν καὶ παράδοξον μυστήριον and Ὢ πῶς ὁ ἀόρατος σωματωθεὶς are again contrafacta imitating well-known pieces from the Good Friday office (Plates 53 and 54); these represent the latest conceivable state of Archaic Coislin, more or less successfully converted to the normal, relatively developed form of the notation by the scribe himself or—as seems more likely—by the writer or corrector of the *Vorlage* from which they were copied.

In its general outlines, the work of the convertor is easily followed. Where alterations are introduced, the notation is normally on two levels, the original neumes below, the convertor's modifications above, and from time to time the two levels are separated by a horizontal stroke. I need scarcely draw attention to the repeated substitutions of the ison or oligon for an original apostrophos, of the oligon with two kentemata for an original apostrophos with two kentemata, of the dyo apostrophoi for an original diple—these speak for themselves. Yet if one studies the two plates attentively, one begins to encounter difficulties. Are the occasional occurrences of the ison on the lower level to be understood as belonging to the original notation or have these signs been written in by the convertor over syllables originally left unprovided for? And if the kylismata in line 12 on Plate 54 are presumably original, what is one to make of the kouphismata in lines 16 and 17 on the same plate? A sign infrequently used, the kouphisma does not belong to the original stock of the Coislin notation, and when used in the normal, relatively developed form of that notation, it is invariably followed by a little dot. In line 16 it ought to stand over the accented first syllable of the word τόκον, not over the unaccented syllable that follows, and neither here nor in line 17 ought the unaccented ultima to bear a neume.

To round out my account of the Menaia from Carbone and their multiple *Vorlagen*, I may now add parenthetically that in three isolated instances the scribe has copied "apocrypha" from a *Vorlage* using a developed form of the Chartres notation. The three

(61) See my earlier reference to these two pieces on p. 36 of my contribution to the *Annales musicologiques* for 1955.

pieces are reproduced as Plates 50, 56 to 57, and 58 (62); Δεῦρο ἀθλητά, the first of these, was assigned at Carbone to the feast of St. Demetrius, but in Sinai 1219 one finds it as a part of the office for St. George. To permit a direct comparison of the South Italian form of the notation with that used within the narrower confines of the Empire, I have reproduced the Sinai concordance as Plate 152.

Thus the Menaia from the monastery of the Prophet Elijah at Carbone, apart from telling us that the normal, relatively developed form of the Coislin notation had reached Calabria by the mid-eleventh century, can be made to tell us also that the two precursors of that notation, Archaic Coislin and Chartres, had reached there well before that time. Beyond this, they enable us to follow the development of the Coislin notation step by step from its remote beginnings to its ultimate emergence as the dominant notation of the Byzantine world. And what is most important, seeing that our extant MSS in Archaic Coislin are all of them Hirmologia, they let us know that Sticheraria written in the various forms of Archaic Coislin must once have existed and must once have been widely diffused. Were it not for the preservation of these five volumes, we should be reduced to inferring the former existence and wide diffusion of the Archaic Coislin Sticherarion from its indistinct and often distorted reflection in our earliest Palaeoslavonic sources (63).

(62) For these pieces too, see p. 36 of my contribution to the *Annales musicologiques*, and for the text without musical notation on Plate 56, the essay by Dom Joseph Lemarié in *Ephemerides liturgicae*, LXXII (1958), 37.

(63) This last point is developed at some length in my contribution to the Dumbarton Oaks symposium of 1964, soon to be published under the title "Two Chilandari Choir-Books: An Appraisal and an Appreciation" in a volume being edited for the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae* by Roman Jakobson.

LIST OF PLATES

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Where a single plate illustrates several varieties of notation, it has been indexed under each variety.

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CHARTRES NOTATION

MIDDLE BYZANTINE NOTATION

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VARIA